

forces where appropriate. That is not in the bill. It was struck from the bill.

Hopefully, we can come back and make some of these changes and strengthen the legislation. Nonetheless, it is a positive step forward. I am glad Congress has gone on record in pressing its opposition to terrorism, and hope we can do more in the coming weeks and months before this Congress is adjourned.

The major point today is that all of us here, not to use this as a forum somehow to express our oppositions to various policies, but at least for a moment or two, to express our deep, deep sense of sorrow to the people of Oklahoma City, and particularly to the families and friends of the 168 individuals who lost their lives.

TRIBUTE TO RON BROWN

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, just 2 weeks ago, this Nation was saddened and anguished by the tragic death of Commerce Secretary Ron Brown and 32 other Government and business leaders in Croatia. As a very close personal friend of Ron Brown's, I regret deeply, Mr. President, that I could not be here to console his widow, Alma, and his children, Michael and Tracy, in their time of grief. My thoughts and prayers today, as they have been over the last several weeks, are with the Brown family and with the families of all of the victims of this terrible tragedy.

Although we have many pressing issues before us in this body, Mr. President, I want to take just a few minutes, if I can, to reflect and remember the extraordinary and distinguished legacy of Ron Brown. As I stand before the Senate here today, many thoughts come to mind, Mr. President, about Ron Brown—civil rights activists, Democratic Party chairman, Commerce Secretary, bridge builder, and certainly a very close and dear personal friend.

Beyond my great sense of personal loss, Mr. President, when I think of Ron Brown I also think of public service and public servant. From all the time that I knew Ron Brown, from when he was a trusted aide to our colleague, Senator KENNEDY, to when he was chairman of the Democratic Party and his last role as Secretary of Commerce, Ron Brown epitomized, in my view, what public service is all about. Ron Brown labored tirelessly for what he believed in. It seemed that no obstacle could prevent him from attaining his goals.

At a time when respect for public service and public servants has diminished, when pundits too often cynically demean those who serve America, Ron Brown presented the quiet dignity that comes with superb public servants. Ron believed that one person committed to a task with conviction in their heart could make a difference, and he certainly did. His labors were the embodiment of George Bernard Shaw's timeless words, "You see things, and you

say why; but I dream things that never were and say why not."

On April 3, when Secretary Brown's plane crashed in Croatia, Mr. President, I was in Ireland to fulfill a long-standing commitment. Together with Ambassador Jean Kennedy Smith and Prime Minister Bruton, we attended and participated in a wonderful memorial service dedicate to Ron Brown's memory at St. Patrick's Cathedral.

I say as an aside, Mr. President, we anticipated 30 or 40 people would show up, maybe from the Embassy staff, to come by and pay their respects. In fact, over 500 people unannounced showed up at the cathedral that morning to participate in that service. I want to thank Dean Stewart, who was in charge of St. Patrick's Cathedral, along with other members of the clergy from throughout Ireland who participated that morning, as well as some very distinguished people who sang and purchased musical pieces in memory of Ron Brown, not to mention the 500 people that came from across the island of Ireland to express their sense of loss.

For all of us there that morning, Mr. President, our remembrances of Ron Brown hearken back to the visit he had made to Ireland 2 years ago, to which I was a member, a trip not unlike the one to Croatia, involving some 15 chief executive officers of businesses in this country, as well as others from the House and the Senate that were part of an economic mission to Northern Ireland.

A visit, Ambassador Smith reminded us, which led to President Clinton to dub Ron Brown an "honorary Irishman," and it was mentioned again by her that morning at St. Patrick's Cathedral. Ron Brown, Mr. President, had come to Ireland with an ambitious but challenging goal: To make the dream of peace during the formal cease-fire in Northern Ireland a reality. Certainly, it was no easy task, as we know, even today.

For anyone who knew Ron Brown, there were not too many challenges that phased him. While I had known him for many years, it was on that trip to Ireland that I had the opportunity to see firsthand the enthusiasm and optimism that infused him.

Remarkably, Mr. President, I watched an African-American man, born and raised in Harlem, with no ethnic or religious connection to Ireland, come to that island and champion the peace process and the opportunities for economic development. While on that trip, Ron Brown became the first U.S. Cabinet secretary to make an official visit to Belfast.

The success of Ron's trip to Ireland prompted President Clinton to send Ron on many other missions across the globe, including the one to the former Yugoslavia, a mission which ended so tragically on that rainy and wind-swept mountain in Croatia. This final mission, Mr. President, was one of many that Ron tirelessly made to the world's troubled spots promoting

American companies and American workers.

As Secretary of Commerce, on one level, Ron's job, of course, was to promote U.S. business interests, which he did very, very well. But for all who knew Ron Brown well, his interests ran much deeper than that. Ron Brown used the legitimate goal of increasing U.S. economic opportunities as a means of advancing other interests as well.

Ron traveled to many places that are beginning the difficult journey toward reconciliation and economic revitalization because, as a public man, a public servant, he believed that the dynamism of private enterprise could help bring lasting peace to regions that, for years, had known only violence and hatred.

But Ron Brown understood that these trips were about more than just helping business or free enterprise. As Ambassador Smith noted in her eulogy in Dublin a week ago, these trips were truly—to use her words—"peace and democracy missions, too, missions of hope and idealism."

Mr. President, these trips were about promoting the importance of work, and the notion that through economic opportunity, the process of political reconciliation could begin and, more importantly, could last.

In the absence of it, of course, no permanent healing will ever occur.

From Ron Brown's earliest days, at his first job carrying records and reading public service announcements at WLIB-AM, a radio station in Harlem, he understood the critical importance of work. He understood that there is nothing as rewarding, for individuals or a nation, as waking up in the morning, going to work, and coming home in the evening knowing that you have earned a true wage.

That is why Ron Brown went to Ireland and so many other places, and it is why he was in the Balkans on that tragic evening.

Ron Brown knew that after the peace treaties were signed and when the guns were finally laid to rest, the possibility of a truly lasting peace anywhere around the globe would depend on every person having the same opportunity to realize today the dream of a far better tomorrow for themselves and their families.

When Ron Brown journeyed to the Balkans, he took with him the unquenchable spirit of American optimism. He sought to use American enterprise and the American can-do spirit to promote economic development as a means of bringing a truly lasting peace. And he sought to heal the lingering anguish of ethnic violence with a promise of a brighter future for all the peoples of the region.

Ron Brown leaves this world, Mr. President, with an amazing legacy. He was the first African-American to head a major political party in our country. He was the first African-American to be Secretary of Commerce. He rebuilt the Democratic Party, and he certainly

helped to elect President Clinton in 1992. He used the Commerce Department to create millions of jobs for American workers and spread the doctrine of economic development and cooperation across the globe.

Ron Brown enjoyed a full and all-too-brief life on this Earth and must be a source of inspiration to all of us, in not just Government, but in our Nation as a whole.

In Ireland, Prime Minister Bruton described Ron Brown in these words, which I think bear repeating—as a role model “for those looking for inspiration as to how a life can be led for the good of others.”

Ron Brown understood, Mr. President, that our lives must have purpose and direction. And we can best remember him by emulating the way he lived his life. Mr. President, I think the poet Ralph Waldo Emerson said it well when he said, “I expect to pass through this world but once. Any good therefore that I can do or any kindness that I can show for any fellow creature, let me do it now. Let me not defer or neglect it, for I shall not pass this way again.”

Ron Brown's life symbolized these solemn words. While he passed through our world, Mr. President, he did good. He showed kindness and, regrettably—so regrettably—he will not pass this way again.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the comments of our Ambassador, Jean Kennedy Smith, along with an article that appeared in the Irish Times, which captured, as well, the remarks of Prime Minister Bruton, who spoke at the memorial service in Dublin, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY AMBASSADOR JEAN KENNEDY SMITH AT MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR SECRETARY OF COMMERCE RON BROWN AND HIS DELEGATION

Taoiseach, distinguished guests, and friends of Ron Brown, of Chuck Meissner, and of the other brave pioneers for peace whose lives of courage and service were so tragically cut short last week.

This has, indeed, been a sad week for America, a sad week for Ireland. We have lost friends. But today, we gather not only to mourn them, but to celebrate their lives.

Last night, I spoke with Alma Brown and told her of the memorial service we were holding today. She was so pleased that Ron was to be remembered in this way by the people of Ireland, because this country was so important to him.

I first met Ron Brown in the fall of 1979. My brother, Ted, was about to begin a campaign for President of the United States in 1980. My husband, Steve, was to manage the campaign, as he had done for my brothers, Jack and Bob. Steve needed a deputy campaign manager for civil rights, and everyone said that Ron Brown was the perfect choice—a new young leader in the civil rights movement, and a worthy heir of the Reverend Martin Luther King.

We all loved Ron from the start. He served far above and beyond the call of duty in the campaign. He gave his heart to Ted and Steve and all of us in the Kennedy family gave our hearts to Ron.

In the years since, I saw him often, most recently during his frequent visits to Ireland. He once told me that he felt a special welcome and sense of humanity in Ireland, even for those who are not of Irish descent. In fact, he enjoyed his time here so much that President Clinton dubbed him an honorary Irishman.

Ron Brown was an original. I never met a person who had greater ability to go into a hornet's nest, come out with the honey, and leave all the bees laughing. No tunnel was too long or too dark for Ron to not see the light at the end. His warmth, and wit, and optimism were inspiring and infectious.

He was a charismatic leader, who was good at every job he ever took on—as a leader in the civil rights movement, chairperson of the Democratic National Committee, and as the Secretary of Commerce. A son of Harlem, he was a remarkable American success story, and he dedicated his life to helping others achieve their potential and their dreams, as he had one.

He brought that same spirit of optimism to Ireland. As he said during President Clinton's historic visit, he found a “belief in self that wasn't here before.”

“We are on a path,” he said, “and we won't be denied.”

Ron was deeply committed to public service, and he instilled that commitment in all who worked for him; in Chuck Meissner, his tireless assistant secretary of commerce, who felt very strongly the pulse for peace in Northern Ireland, and in all those from the Department of Commerce who are here today. The mission Ron Brown led to South Africa and China, to the Middle East and Northern Ireland, and, finally, to Bosnia, were more than trade missions. They were peace and democracy missions too, missions to hope and idealism. The understood that peace, prosperity, and economic justice go hand in hand.

As President Clinton has said, “Ron Brown walked and ran and flew through life. He was a magnificent life force.”

In the wake of that force, in the wake of that remarkable life, all of us who knew Ron Brown, Chuck Meissner, and the members of the delegation, all of us who were fortunate to be touched by their warmth and share their vision must try to carry on their work for peace, for that is their legacy to us.

[From the Irish Times, Apr. 11, 1996]

BRUTON SAYS BROWN WAS A MODEL FOR ALL WHO WANT TO HELP OTHERS

(By Mark Brennock)

Politicians, business people and many others who knew Ron Brown gathered in Dublin's St. Patrick's Cathedral yesterday to honour an African-American whom President Clinton had dubbed “an honorary Irishman.”

As one who had not known him the Dean of St. Patrick's the Very Rev Maurice Stewart, said he had two images of the late U.S. Commerce Secretary in his mind.

The first was of a man who had been praised after his death by Northern Irish politicians of both persuasions.

The second was that when Mr. Brown was seen on television, “he always seemed to be smiling. He was a happy man, and these days, that is as good an image as any politician could project.”

Mr. Brown was among 33 people killed last week when their plane crashed in Croatia. He had been on a trade and aid mission to Bosnia and Croatia. He was also a key figure in the US Administration's involvement in the Northern Ireland peace process.

The US Ambassador, Ms. Jean Kennedy Smith, told the congregation Mr. Brown had once said he felt “a special welcome and

sense of humanity in Ireland, even for those who are not of Irish descent. In fact, he enjoyed his time here so much that President Clinton dubbed him an honorary Irishman.

“The missions Ron Brown led to South Africa and China, to the Middle East and Northern Ireland and, finally, to Bosnia, were more than trade missions. They were peace and democracy missions too, missions of hope and idealism. He understood that peace, prosperity and justice go hand in hand.”

She said everyone who had known Mr. Brown, Mr. Chuck Meissner and the others who died in the plane crash “must try to carry on their work for peace, for that is their legacy to us.”

US Senator Chris Dodd, who had travelled to Ireland with Mr. Brown in recent years, said on one level he had been in Ireland to promote US business, but “Ron Brown understood that these trips were about far more than promoting business.

“He knew that after the peace treaties were signed and the guns laid to rest, the possibility of a truly lasting peace depended on each person having the same opportunity to realize their dreams of a better tomorrow. He sought to heal the lingering anguish and ethnic violence with the promise of brighter opportunities.

“On the trip to Ireland, I . . . watched an African-American born and raised in Harlem with no ties here come and champion the cause of peace and economic opportunity in Ireland.”

The Taoiseach, Mr. Bruton hailed Mr. Brown as a role model “for those looking for inspiration as to how a life can be led for the good of others”. He said Mr. Brown had brought his experience of a Harlem upbringing and his involvement in the civil rights movement to work towards the creation of “a structure of peace” in the world.

“As head of the Irish Government I want to thank him for the enormous interest he took in peace and prosperity on this small island.”

Ireland was not a major strategic interest for the US, he said. The US could have confined itself to expressing pious words and the occasional reference to Ireland at election time. But the Clinton Administration had gone far beyond that.

The President, who is in the west of Ireland, was represented at the service by her aide-de-camp, Col. Bernard Howard. The attendance included the Lord Mayor of Dublin, Mr. Seán D. Dublin Bay Loftus.

The Government was also represented by the Minister for Finance, Mr. Quinn; the Minister for Enterprise and Employment, Mr. Bruton; and the Minister for Tourism and Trade, Mr. Kenny. Ministers of State present included Mr. Pat Rabbitte and Mr. Austin Currie.

Other politicians attending included the ?ianna ??il deputy leader, Ms. Mary O'Rourke, the Progressive Democrats leader, Ms. Mary Harney, and the former PD leader, Mr. Desmond O'Malley Sinn Féin was represented by Monaghan, counsellor Mr. * * *

There was a large representation from the US Embassy. Among the other diplomatic missions represented were those of Norway, Thailand, Nigeria and Israel.

A large contingent from the Department of Foreign Affairs included the second secretary, Mr. Seán O hUiginn, the Chief of Protocol, Mr. John O. Burke and Mr. Brendan Scannell of the Anglo-Irish division. The Taoiseach's programme manager, Mr. Seán Donlon, and representatives of a number of other government Departments were also present.

Mr. FEINGOLD addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin is recognized.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, I appreciate the unanimous consent to speak for 20 minutes. Let me associate myself strongly with both sets of remarks by the Senator from Connecticut—first, as to our good friend and great loss with regard to Secretary Brown, who we will miss greatly. And, second, nothing could be more on our minds today than the horror of last year in Oklahoma City. The moments of silence here and across the country were a fitting reminder of that tragedy, but also a time to feel some real gratitude toward the employees of our Federal Government, who do not always get treated with all the respect and admiration they deserve. They had a very rough year in 1995. I, for one, want to thank them for their services and the sacrifices of their families throughout the country, particularly with regard to those who suffered the loss in Oklahoma City.

I thank the Senator from Connecticut for his remarks.

CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, it looks like a very ambitious agenda has been announced for this session until Memorial Day. I welcome much of that agenda, and I especially welcome the type of bill that we handled yesterday, the so-called Kennedy-Kassebaum bill.

That bill regarding health care reform is a classic example of a good, bipartisan effort that I think the American people are really starved for. They want nothing more than to see those of us who have the honor of being elected to Congress work together on a bipartisan basis. What we did yesterday, I think, exemplifies better than anything else the possibilities of working together in this body for the good of the country.

In fact, Mr. President, in his State of the Union, President Clinton endorsed the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill, saying that that bipartisan effort was acceptable to him and that he would be happy to sign it. That gave the bill a lot of impetus, and I think it was a very important moment in the State of the Union.

Mr. President, the President of the United States also endorsed another bipartisan bill that night on another topic that might be even more fundamental—I would say it is even more fundamental than the important bill we passed yesterday. The topic that the President was referring to was campaign finance reform, and the bill that he endorsed was S. 1219, the first bipartisan bill on campaign reform in this body in about 10 years.

Mr. President, I rise today—and, in a moment, a couple of my colleagues will also rise—to say that the time is now to take up the issue of campaign finance reform on this floor, to take up this bipartisan effort, which, among other things, will, for the first time, voluntarily limit the overall amount a candidate can spend when they run for

the U.S. Senate or the House of Representatives, and for the first time say that you have to get a majority of your campaign contributions from individuals, from the people from your own home State, not from PAC's or from out-of-staters, but the majority from your own home State, if you want to get the benefits of the bill; and finally, for the very first time, some reasonable incentives to get people to not spend unlimited amounts of their own cash, so that people get the sickening feeling that elections can be bought.

All of this is highlighted in S. 1219. In doing so, of course, Mr. President, I especially pay tribute to the first sponsor of the bill, who has been central to the bipartisan reform efforts in the 104th Congress, the senior Senator from Arizona, Senator MCCAIN.

He has been steadfast and very dedicated to this effort. He, I, and the others who are involved in this speak almost every day about how we can move this effort from concept to fruition during the 104th Congress.

In addition, my friend who will speak next, the Senator from Minnesota, Senator WELLSTONE, and others have worked together almost on a daily basis to try to move this issue forward. We have been very encouraged that this is not just happening in this House. It is also happening in the other body where another very similar bipartisan effort is being led by a group of people from very disparate ideological viewpoints. It is one of the rare examples, I am told, where there is not just a bipartisan effort going on but a bicameral effort, a real groundswell of effort in both Houses working together for campaign finance reform.

Of course, I would be remiss not to mention the tremendous public support we are finding for S. 1219—groups like Common Cause, Public Citizens, and over 50 newspapers have endorsed the bill.

So I think it is fair to say we are in an excellent position to say that the time is now to have this issue debated on the floor.

So I, Senator MCCAIN, and the others who have been working together on this bill have come to the conclusion that it may well be necessary now to seek to amend another piece of legislation, perhaps the next appropriate vehicle, to move this issue forward given the inability of having this bill scheduled on its own at this point. I would prefer—I think we would all prefer—that the bill be scheduled separately. But, given the passage of time, I think we have very little alternative.

Mr. President, given the unprecedented level of bipartisan support, there is clearly a consensus among the public that S. 1219 ought to come to the floor. Admittedly, there was a time some years ago when I did not think we could, having passed campaign finance reform in both Houses in the 103d Congress and see it die. I was skeptical. When I read the Contract With America and saw the other party win the

election, campaign finance reform was not even mentioned in the Contract With America.

Nonetheless, Mr. President, thanks to Members of both parties, this is truly a bipartisan effort. The reform agenda has arisen in the 104th Congress. It has been proven by not just introducing but by succeeding on the issues of the gift ban and lobby reform for which my friend from Minnesota was very central to in both causes. These are among the very few real accomplishments thus far in the 104th Congress. So the reform agenda has done surprisingly well.

Mr. President, I want to especially remind the body today that it is important to do this. This is not just one Senator's view of what ought to be on the floor or just the view of the cosponsors of the bill. This is the will of the body of the U.S. Senate as voted on a bipartisan basis in July of 1995.

Mr. President, last July I authored a bipartisan resolution that simply said we should consider campaign finance reform during the 104th Congress. I thought it would be a quick voice vote and be put away. But it was tested. It was sorely tested. The majority leader left his office and came to the floor personally and urged that that resolution which I had proposed be defeated, and called for a rollcall. As we know, the majority leader rarely fails to prevail. The majority leader almost never fails to get a majority. But on this one he did, and 13 Republicans joined with many Democrats so that on a 57 to 41 vote the Senate voted not to table our resolution that campaign finance reform should be considered during the 104th Congress. Subsequently, in the next vote, campaign finance reform was added to a list of items that we all voted to say ought to be considered in the 104th Congress.

Mr. President, I think that was a very key sign of the desire of this body to do campaign finance reform. I certainly believed that every Senator, when they said they wanted the issue considered, meant that they wanted it considered in a timely manner so that campaign finance reform could become law. In other words, I did not consider this to be something that Senators would want to do so late that it would not wind its way through this difficult process, and so that it would not get to the President who has said he is ready to sign the bill.

Mr. President, since that time, many other items that were on that list that we all voted for have been passed or dealt with. Welfare reform has been dealt with, the Defense Department authorization, Bosnia arms embargo, job training, and legislative branch appropriations have all been considered on the floor of the Senate—but not campaign finance reform.

Here we are in mid-April in the second year of the 104th Congress with no debate on campaign finance reform, no consideration, and thus far no votes on the issue.